791 with all kinds of weapons - muskets, bows and arrows, swords and
765 knives - and driving the spirit into the bag. When the spirit is
789 captured, the bag is carried outside, opened up over a fire of /52/ yak dung and symbolically emptied. The escaping evil spirit is threatened with the weapons carried by the men who accompany the bag, and this is supposed to drive the spirit into the fire where he is consumed. This burning of the spirit always takes place at a crossroad, which is why crossroads are avoided in the evening, since one never knows whether or not the burning has been successful. This type of exorcism is practiced only in cases of illness.

791 In special cases exorcistic rites are carried on simultaneously
789 by a considerable number of böm-bu. Thus before a war 10 to 20 böm-bu gather in order to curse the enemy and ask for good luck. In this case the böm-bu invoke a special god, the horse god (Ma-wang-yeh). They can also, like the lamas, invoke the mountain spirits which bring luck.

791 The böm-bu surpass the lamas in their exclusive ability to
754 practice black magic. However, they must be paid more for this than for ordinary exorcism. A böm-bu can be induced to bring sickness or a cattle epidemic down upon an enemy, but for this he must be paid with a yak or a horse, whether or not he is successful.

When black magic is practiced with the help of a böm-bu, a dog is killed and its blood used. The name of the person to be bewitched is written on a slip of paper, along with a magic formula. Then the paper is dipped in the blood of the dog and buried near the person who is being bewitched. (1) Meanwhile /53/ the böm-

1. In China we also find that cursed objects intended to bring ill luck through black magic are buried. For example, if a woman does not wish her neighbor well, she tries to gain possession of a few of her neighbor's hairs which she brings to an old woman versed in black magic and making a business of it. With the help of incantations, the old woman can make the hairs work an evil spell, for example, produce trachoma or boils. However, in order to be effective, the hairs must be secretly placed under the chamber pot (ma-t'ung) of the victim.

bu is reading aloud from the sacred books in his tent. It is not possible, however, by means of magic to turn men into animals and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

and vice versa, as I was told several times in China.

If a person believes, on the other hand, that he has fallen ill because of magic, he first lets a lama prophesy who has cast the spell. Then the person lies in wait for the enchanter and shoots him. My interpreter who spent a long time with the nomad Mewu-Fantzu, had never experienced such cases himself, but had only heard tell of them. However, he maintained that he knew of several cases of revenge on alleged sorcerers among the sedentary Fantzu with whom he lived at the time. Laymen can protect themselves from magic spells not only by availing themselves of the magic powers of bömbu and lamas, but also by practicing magic themselves. Any layman who fears magic spells can read in the sacred writings if he is able to read at all. A layman can protect himself against misfortune, as for example sickness or cattle epidemics, by means of magic.

Strangers are, of course, particularly subject to suspicion. Thus my interpreter learned that after I had come to live near the encampment of the Mewu-Fantzu, they wondered whether an abnormally heavy rain lasting for several days might have been caused by my visit. The people, particularly the men (?), were by no means happy over my visit, especially in the beginning. But not only Europeans are affected by this superstition; it is directed also against Chinese and Mohammedans and even Tibetans from the lowlands. The nomads dislike particularly being photographed or having people make sketches or draw maps. The stranger, especially of course the European, is highly suspect because of his unusual appearance and his strange customs. This viewpoint is, however, only human, and by no means characteristic of Tibetans alone. I found it throughout China; and it has been my experience over a period of many years that every /54/ slightly unusual event that coincides with the arrival of a stranger is only too easily regarded as having been caused by the stranger, no matter whether I traveled in the extreme northwestern part of China among Tibetans, or in the extreme southeast among the Li on the island of Hainan, or somewhere in between, in China proper. (1)

1. Compare, for example, C. Bell 10), page 207; Stübel 11), Hainan-Li, page 61, 113, 241; Stübel 12), Yao, page 377. Since I always traveled in summer, and thus at the time of the great rains, I was not at all surprised that the rainstorm was regarded by the Fantzu as being connected with my arrival. I had the same experience, for example, with a Yao tribe in northern

124 judgment. In any case, he had had no particularly bad experiences during all the years of his contact with the Fantzu, although this happens very often to Chinese because they find it hard to suppress a certain conceit toward peoples of other cultures.

888 My interpreter described the Mewu-Fantzu as generally sincere,
181 courteous and hospitable. They do not get angry very easily; they
577 are faithful in friendship and are very willing to help each other, but being a Chinese, my interpreter was very scornful of their lack of piety toward their parents. It can happen that an adult son refuses to take his parents into his tent, which is why one sometimes sees old people begging at the temples or burial places. Even wealthy people sometimes treat their parents badly. The Fantzu do not often lie, nor do they incline to boasting; on the contrary, they try to belittle their property, and they put little value on "face." Even wealthy people wear dirty clothes, and sometimes even beg. They do not forget insults. In business the Fantzu are less reliable than the Chinese. They often do not keep their promises, and sometimes they forget to pay.

683 The most common crimes are: theft, plunder, the infliction of
754 bodily injuries, and - in the opinion of the Fantzu themselves - black magic.

671 Common law, not written down, is the law of the Fantzu. The
692a 'ou-mu, to whom all the more serious legal cases are presented, decides according to his judgment, usually with the approval of the heads of the ts'aowa groups.

685 According to my interpreter, the Fantzu do not have a tendency to theft, at any rate they do not rob each other. /80/ If they accept a stranger in their midst, (1) they do not steal from him or rob

1. as in the case of the author who was recommended to the Mewu Lamasery by the Labrang Lamasery.

him, especially not when he is a guest in a tent or house.

[123] Inconsistent though it seemed, my interpreter was always very
685 careful about guarding my belongings which were, as far as possible, stored in the tent in such a way that they could not be easily got at from the outside. An American missionary assured me that this precaution was justified, for he had lived a great deal among the Fantzu and had often been robbed. Nevertheless, my interpreter's insistence that the Fantzu do not tend to steal is only an apparent contradiction. Wherever primitive ideas of justice prevail, stealing from strangers is probably judged on a different moral basis than